621 361 The *Ezo Shima Ki* [Record of Ezo Island] confirms this: "They lived in villages near the sea or river. Whenever fish, birds, or animals became scarce they would abandon their village and settle elsewhere where game could be found and it seems that they never remained in any one place." However, they did not move as a nomadic people and they can be considered migratory only in comparison with a settled agricultural people. They stayed in one place during the winter and probably moved to another area to work during the fishing season. This can be seen by the fact that the Ainu in the northern Kuriles lived on the three islands, Shimushu, Paramushiri, Rashowa, and had fishing areas on nearby islands.[35] During the winter the Ainu hibernated and the villages which outsiders came across were probably secondary villages built for the summer working season or permanent non-winter villages. There is interesting material in the remains of their hibernating areas. An investigation of the Kamikawa region showed several scores or hundreds of semi-underground houses formerly used as dwellings scattered around the palisaded house of the chief and the scene resembled a large community with a common cemetery.[36] In the *Sankō Ezo Nikki* [Record of a third trip to Ezo] of Matsuura Takeshirō there is a description of such a village in Kunashiri.[37] This is all reminiscent of the villages which appear in their epics and suggests much of interest in regard to the structure of communities. Yet in order to take this as evidence that Ainu villages were once larger than they are today it is necessary to prove that all of the caves of the district were of the same period. The archaeological evidence which we do have indicating the existence of common cemeteries hints that the Ainu had family communities, but the villages of which we have knowledge were more complicated and included, besides kinsmen, people from other villages. While a large village had as its core a group of kinsmen in the narrow sense, it was generally made up of more than two family groups.[38] Each village had its chief. In *Ezo Shima Ki* this is referred to thus: "There was no leader of the whole island of Ezo but a leader to each village and he is usually called *Otona*." But *Otona* was a name used by the Japanese to denote those chiefs who had submitted to them and in the *Watarishima Hikki* it says: "Each village had its leader who was called *Bankin-*

● [166]

[172]

627 192

[35] Torii Ryūzō, *Chishima Ainu* (The Ainu of the Kuriles), 70 ff.

[36] Abe Masami, Hokkaidō no Chashi (The forts of Hokkaidō) *Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*JZ*) 33: 66 ff.

[37] *Sankō Ezo Nikki* 2. "Diary of Kimura Shikyō, entry of July 9. Stayed overnight at the home of Chief Ikorikayani. There are 28 to 29 houses for servants and wives and concubines and *Utare*. Wives and concubines lived on the flat land at the foot of a mountain 15 or 16 cho from the sea while *Utare* lived further down to the shore."

[38] Through recent studies of *Ekashitoppu* [ancestral personal marks] and *Ekashishiroshi* [proofs of ancestry] possessed by the Ainu there is some indication that the former indicates lineage and the latter family but further study is required.

[681] power of the village was insufficient to cope with the problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as [627] follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes [692] have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

[105] The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as [462] primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor. [241] Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and [233] fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign [439] trade as the family became an economic unit and the communal economy of village life dissolved. In the [622] regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk [621] evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head [361] family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group [166] would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between [628] the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed [556] methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life. [464] Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly [622] true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki:*

[105] Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the
[421] members of her family become members of the chief's
[592] family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to
[556] support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

was enforced and that there was no pilfering.[47] Since these men were the only clan representatives sent to Ezo territory they came to have the authority of settling disputes between Japanese and Ezo which was the first step in the acquisition of political power over the tribes.[48]

These regulations were no more than verbal instructions laying down certain rules. In the *Igen Zokuwa* after a narration of the abuses of *Ashinpe* (the atonement penalty practiced among the Ainu) this passage occurs: "In previous years many valuables were offered as *Ashinpe* but since the introduction of rules of penalty by the lord this is no longer practiced" [49]—an indication of the scope of the Matsumae regulations. *Uimamu* was used to appease the Ainu but it was also useful as a measure of rule. Similarly *Omusha* came to lose its economic character. The *Ezo Sōshi* traces the change when it notes that *Omusha* lost its original friendliness whereby both parties patted each other and became a ceremony where the Ainu received officials who occupied seats on a higher level as guests of honor and the author interprets *Omusha* as "an event for entertaining honorable and noble guests." Since the Matsumae laid down these rules the right of punishment for transgression of them lay with the Matsumae. An example of this is the imprisonment of the chief Umushimute in 1693 on the charge that, the previous year, he had spread rumors of the western Ezo revolting at a gold mine in Haporo. Thus, as Hokkaidō became an exploited colony, so did the weight of Japanese rule increase and the Ezo not only lost power but, as will be discussed in a later chapter, their freedom was limited. On the other hand those Ainu who had become followers of the Matsumae gradually intermingled with the Japanese and received equality of treatment. At the time of the independence of the Matsumae clan the area wherein Japanese could reside ran from Kameda in the east to Kumaishi in the west, a territory which included resident Ainu. After the 1669 incident, and despite strict regulations to the contrary, the Japanese began to move past this boundary into more remote areas while, at the same time, the Ainu began to retreat into the interior. In 1550 the chief of the eastern Ezo lived in Shiriuchi but by 1704 there were no Ezo in this area and only a few native

[47] According to a report written in March 1785 and found in the *Hidaya Kyūki* contraband in the contract *Bashos* of Hidaya, which were those at Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Kunashiri were, sea otter skin, bear liver, bear skin, eagle tails, seals, *eburiko* and *hotsuki* [*ubakai, Mactra Sachalinensis*]. These goods were handled exclusively by the Matsumae and the contract merchants could not trade in them. Transactions in them were conducted by the *Uwanoriyaku*.

[48] "Two officials accompanied the goods to Ezo. They were to see that no trouble arose between the trading parties. Also, in loading, the draft and a list of the freight was reported to these officials in writing after which the officials boarded and sail was raised." *Ezo Koku Shiki*.

[49] *SHS* 1: illustration No. 1.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

villages left in Kikonai, Satsukari, Mobetsu, and Hekirichi while on the west coast the Ezo of Kaminokuni had already been extinguished and only in Tazawa and Otobe were any natives to be found. And even this small number was steadily diminishing as can be found in *Ezo Dan Hikki*: "Probably because the Ezo preferred not to live among the Japanese they gradually moved inland and very few are seen these days." According to a report made in 1788 the Ezo living in Matsumae consisted of but twelve persons living in three houses and three villages.[50] The reasons for this decline of the Ainu lie not alone in the activities of the Japanese but also have their cause in the spread of contagious diseases such as smallpox and measles which got a foothold by the first part of the seventeenth century. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* makes note of this: "Ezo in Tazawa and Otobe are almost gone, many having died of smallpox and measles." The decrease in population frustrated any Ainu attempt to organize self-government and their years of contact with the Matsumae brought them into a Japanese way of life. Since these Ainu in the territory of the daimyō were not needful of special treatment, they came to be treated as Japanese. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* shows this contrast when, in regard to the Ainu living in Ainu areas, it says: "In general there is no annual land tax gathered from the Ezo lands. Only when these Ezo come to Matsumae do they bring with them local products," whereas, "The Ezo living near Matsumae receive a portion of land from the daimyō. But while they work some of the land they do not pay land taxes. Instead they offer to work—fishing for herring or gathering tangle or collecting firewood." This latter work was not a voluntary substitute for land tax but was imposed on all the residents in Matsumae as is shown by the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, "Payment to the daimyō and to the samurai of the Matsumae were twenty-five to thirty horse loads of tangle and a five × six foot stack of firewood annually for farmers while the fisherman of herring had to remit seven bundles each." These payments applied to those who had submitted to Matsumae rule. The Ezo living in Kunashiri, Etorofu, Akkeshi, Kiritappu, Karafuto, and on the Okhotsk coast were out of the reach of Matsumae control and had just begun to trade and although involved in disputes with each other were independent. The Matsumae made no effort to enter into political relationship with these Ezo and were satisfied to have the trading contracts only. But after the rebellion of 1789 these areas slowly came under Japanese control and by policy of the Bakufu came directly under Japanese jurisdiction in 1799.

When all the above facts are considered it seems that the Matsumae after 1669 had three methods of native control.

[50] Temmei Hachinen junkenshi ōtō hikae (Memorandum on answers to investigating officials in 1788) in *Matsumae Tōzai Kanki* (Census of the Matsumae domain)

[P. 37(B)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the the middle undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Saghalin in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the number of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon* in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 12 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 26 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum.

The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces, and tattoo the mouth, like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same. The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 60 are quite different from any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other, 150777, is presumably a fish plate. The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home.

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yellow, but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

* Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, XI, 33-60.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The children wear long gowns similar to those of the women, and one or two of the children I saw had very fair hair As will be seen by the illustrations, some of the men and women possess good features, more resembling those of European races than those of Mongolian type. They are gentle and quiet, like all other Ainu. They are submissive, and resigned to their sad fate.

The island of Skikotan is almost circular in shape, and it has one or two small anchorages on its north coast. I judged its diameter to be about twelve or thirteen miles. Etorofu and Kunashiri, though much larger in size, are of less interest to us in connection with the Ainu, as most of that race found there migrate from Yezo during the fishing season; therefore, nothing is to be added about them.

Etorofu is a long, narrow, but irregular island, over one hundred miles in length, and varying in breadth from five or six to twenty miles. It is very mountainous, and has some bold, rugged scenery, owing to its volcanic formation. Etorofu is by far the largest island of the Kurile group, and it possesses many safe anchorages, especially on its north-west coast, where several mountainous capes branch off the narrow strip of land, and afford small ships a fairly safe harbourage from west and south-westerly winds. Unfortunately, however, they are open to northerly and north-east gales, during the prevalence of which, should a ship happen to be cruising about in those latitudes, she would have to run for a shelter to the south-east coast. The south-east coast is not peopled, with the exception of a very few huts near Moyorotake, or "Bear Bay," at its most south-eastern point. A better shelter, however, is to be found in the bay, nearly in the middle of the island, on the shores of which are a few huts at Onembets and Imotsuto. Most of the coast is deserted, and the south-east portion is very rocky, huge cliffs, with high richly-coloured mountains in the background, ending like an impassable wall into the sea. Where the island is narrower there are some low terraces with scrub bamboo and stunted trees. Larch is found in Etorofu, while it is seldom found in Yezo. Heather-like plants are also indigenous in Etorofu, and cranberry bushes are frequent near the coast. From Betoya or Bettobu Bay down to its most south-western point Etorofu is

The date chosen for the study is that immediately preceding the period of great changes brought about in their group life by Japanese interference or the introduction of new farming system under Japanese guidance and superintedence, following the agricultural-land allotment grogramme[1] and the free distribution of farming tools and plant seeds by the Japanese government. Although varying to some extent in different localities in Hokkaido, the period dates after 1883 (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-488; Note 10); in the Tokapchi valley it dates from 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma valley from 1888 (A Chronological Chart of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). With this date as dividing line, there occurred throughout Hokkaido wholesale migrations of settlement groups with attendant dispersions and aggregations. As far as the present study is concerned, for instance, the Nitmap group on the river Tokapchi moved from their old home to a new site allotted downstream; the Ainu on the Otopuke, tributary of the Tokapchi, were suddenly tranformed from their entire gathering life to a new farming life. This visible and sudden change brought on the Hokkaido Ainu was imprinted in the memory of those who experienced it as an epoch-making event in their life histories, the fact which enabled the writer to segregate data pertaining to the Ainu groups prior to the transition. As a necessary procedure to studying groups at the given time horizon, it was important to get into contact with informants who have either experienced the life of the groups themselves as members thereof and also are competent to supply information of that life. Three Ainu informants to satisfy these conditions were made available to the author: Ushintasan (Yoshimura by Japanese family name; female, native resident of Tonika on the river Azuma; died in 1954), Ushino (Kachikawa by Japanese family name; female, native of Nitmap on the river Tokapchi and resident of Memroputu) and Kazari (Hosoda by Japanese family name; female, native of Rucha on the river Otopuke and resident of Otopuke).

It must be remembered that the simple fact that an informant belonged to a group at the given data[2] is no guarantee for his or her information pertaining to the particular group at the particular time horizon. With a view to restricting the information sought to the desired group at the desired date, interviews were conducted by focusing on the visible and concrete activities of that group to which the informants belonged at the date. This means indirect observation by which the investigator may examine indirectly to some extent the actual and concrete workings of the group through descriptive information about the actual daily behaviours and activities of the informant himself in the group and of his fellow members and neighbours. From this concrete but fragmentary information the investigator may extract relations existing between those activities. This process was of particular

1. [Errata: the word "grogramme" should read "programme". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]
2. [Errata: the word "data" should read "date". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

[p.90]

II

(10) Historical survey of size and distribution of Ainu settlements.—Reference has already been made in Notes 8 and 9 in Chapter I to the agriculturalization policy for the Ainu adopted by the Japanese Government in its earliest phase of Hokkaido administration (Notes 8-9). The policy was carried out in the northeastern districts in 1883 starting with Ashoro, followed in 1884 by Shiranuka, Akan, Kawakami and Abashiri, and in 1885 in Kusuri (Kushiro), Akkeshi and Shari; for Hitaka district in 1885 in Saru (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 487); for the Tokapchi district in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6, from a publication by Kasai Branchi Office) and for the Azuma district in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office).

Prior to this period the natives living near the coasts of the south-western, north-western and south-eastern districts had grown millet and other cereals subsidiary to their gathering. But their farming and the areas under cultivation were insignificant (p. 41). In fact, even those Ainus who practised some farming lived in small settlements scattered over areas chosen for traditional gathering, just as did non-agriculturist Ainus who lived more inland. With many of them the first difficulty lay in finding necessary areas of arable land near enough to their settlements. The consideration led the Government to move those Ainus into more favourable areas as preliminary to enforcing its policy. It was desired at the same time that the hitherto scattered Ainu settlements be brought together into smaller areas which would be convenient for instruction in farming and supervision. Accordingly, the natives of Ashoro, Tushipet and Rikupet were moved to Ashoro, those of Kushiro to tributaries, those of Tokapchi into nine areas on the Tokapchi and three other areas on the Tushipet. Even in fertile Saru there were large-scale removals made by two or three settlements and minor ones by almost all the others (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 487-491). On a field survey by the present writer information was collected relating to some of those removals of settlements in the Shikot, Azuma, Nukapira and Tokapchi valleys as well.

Now the present article is concerned primarily with the Ainu settlements as they had been prior to this redistribution period. Even before these movements brought about by the agriculturalization programme, some changes had taken place in Ainu settlements in relation to Japanese activities, namely, the fishery development projects by the Matsumae feudal clan. In 1635, for instance, when the Matsumae government opened Kusuri (Kushiro) fishing grounds, they looked for expedient supply of labour from the upper Kusuri Ainu, whom they transferred en masse to the Kusuri coast (HABARA, 1939, p.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

71). With the development of their administration and the expansion of trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards. At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses contained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts, to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Although the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabulated as follows: